

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /031 W

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O 010828Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7892

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 14246

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG, PFOR, JA, XF

SUBJ: JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON SECRETARY

REF: TOKYO 14170

SUMMARY: FONOFF HAS INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA, IN HIS NOVEMBER 1 CALL ON SECRETARY, TO ASK FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AS QTE KEY UNQTE TO UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS ON ME. IF RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IS DELAYED, GOJ FEARS THAT MAJOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS WILL DEVELOP IN JAPAN. GOJ PREPARED TO PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND HOPES THAT CLOSEST COMMUNICATION CAN BE MAINTAINED BETWEEN US AND JAPAN ON ME ISSUES. ACCORDING FONOFF SOURCE, IF THERE IS NO PROSPECT FOR SUCCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS IN ME, GOJ MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE WORST. EMBASSY BELIEVES IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR SECRETARY IN DISCUSSIONS WITH YASUKAWA TO PROVIDE ASSURANCE THAT GOJ WILL BE CLOSELY INFORMED AS NEGOTIATIONS IN ME PROGRESS. END SUMMARY.

1. AT EMBASSY REQUEST, DEPUTY HEAD OF FONOFF ME DIVISION, YOSHIHIRO JIBIKI, ON NOVEMBER 1 PROVIDED EMBOFF WITH FURTHER DETAILS OF GOJ INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA (SEE REFTEL). ACCORDING TO JIBIKI (WHO WAS READING FROM CABLED INSTRUCTIONS), YASUKAWA INSTRUCTED TO CALL ON HIGHEST LEVEL OF USG, REQUESTING MOST UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION ON NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAVE STARTED OR ARE GOING TO START AMONG COUNTRIES CONCERNED IN MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT YASUKAWA WILL DRAW ON FOLLOWING
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SIX POINTS:

A. GOJ HIGHLY APPRECIATES US ACTIVE INITIATIVE WHICH LED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE UN RESOLUTION TERMINATING

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EGYPT, SYRIA, AND ISRAEL.

B. IT APPEARS TO THE GOJ THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES HAVE INCREASED THEIR LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE BECAUSE OF THEIR SOLIDARITY, BECAUSE OF THE ABILITY TO USE PETROLEUM AS POLITICAL WEAPON, AND BECAUSE PUBLIC OPINION IS FAVORABLE TO ARAB SIDE. IT THUS APPEARS TO GOJ THAT ARABS WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT ISRAEL WITHDRAW FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES QTE AS A WHOLE UNQTE. ON OTHER HAND, ISRAEL SEEMS MUCH MORE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IT MUST RETAIN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO ASSURE ITS SECURITY. THESE TWO CONFLICTING FACTORS COMPLICATE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. AN ADDITIONAL COMPLICATING FACTOR IS INCREASED INFLUENCE OF SOVIET UNION ON ARAB COUNTRIES.

C. GOJ OPPOSES IDEA OF EXPANSION OF TERRITORY BY FORCE AND HAS TAKEN POSITION THAT IT WILL NOT APPROVE OF CONTINUED OCCUPATION BY ISRAEL OF TERRITORIES TAKEN IN 1967 WAR. KEY POINT FOR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TO PERSUADE ISRAEL TO ACCEPT IDEA OF RETURNING OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WITH EXCEPTION OF QTE MINOR RECTIFICATIONS UNQTE WHICH MAY BE AGREED UPON. ISRAEL CAN SUCCESSFULLY MAINTAIN ITS SECURITY BY OTHER MEANS, SUCH AS ESTABLISHMENT OF NON-MILITARIZED ZONES AND DISPATCH OF UN EMERGENCY FORCE.

D. IF RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT IS DELAYED GOJ FEARS THAT ARAB OIL PRODUCERS WILL GO FURTHER IN THEIR SUPPLY CUTS. THIS WILL HAVE NOT ONLY MAJOR EFFECT ON ECONOMY OF JAPAN BUT ALSO WORLD ECONOMY AS A WHOLE WILL BE DAMAGED. ONCE SERIOUS INFLUENCE THAT SUCH SUPPLY CUTS MIGHT HAVE ON JAPANESE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY BECOMES CLEAR TO THE JAPANESE PEOPLE, IT IS HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT THIS WILL DEVELOP INTO A SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUE. GOJ EARNESTLY HOPES THAT USG WILL ASSERT ITS GREAT INFLUENCE IN THE ME TO SECURE SPEEDY AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF CONFLICT.

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E. IF THERE IS SOMETHING THAT JAPAN CAN DO, THE GOJ IS PREPARED TO MAKE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEM AND TO PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE TOWARD THAT PURPOSE.

F. IN VIEW OF IMPORTANCE OF THIS PROBLEM TO BOTH US AND JAPAN, GOJ HOPES THAT CLOSEST COMMUNICATION WILL BE MAINTAINED IN FUTURE. IN LIKELY EVENT THAT IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR GOJ TO MAKE ITS POSITION CLEARER ON THE RESOLUTION OF ME PROBLEM, GOJ ON ITS PART WILL MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH USG.

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. NEWLIN.

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2. JIBIKI, WHO HAD JUST COME FROM MEETING WITH VICE MINISTER HOGEN, SAID HOGEN HAD AUTHORIZED HIM TO BRIEF EMBOFF ON YASUKAWA'S INSTRUCTIONS. IN VIEW OF EMBOFF'S CALL AND HOGEN'S BUSY SCHEDULE, HOGEN SAID HE NO LONGER INTENDED CALL IN THE AMBASSADOR FOR BRIEFING, NEVERTHELESS, HOGEN MADE IT CLEAR THROUGH JIBIKI THAT THIS IN NO WAY SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS DETRACTING FROM IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE TO GOJ.

3. IN CONVEYING ABOVE TO EMBOFF, JIBIKI SAID IT HAD HOPE OF GOJ THROUGH THIS NOTE TO START DIALOGUE WITH

USG ON ME SITUATION. JIBIKI EMPHASIZED CRITICAL POSITION IN WHICH GOJ NOW FOUND ITSELF. IF THERE APPEARED TO BE NO PROSPECT FOR SUCCESS IN THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS, GOJ MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE WORST, AND CONTINGENCY PLANNING MUST GO FORWARD ON A MAJOR SCALE. FOR THIS REASON GOJ BELIEVED IT ESSENTIAL TO KNOW EXACT STATUS OF PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. JIBIKI ASKED THAT EMBASSY CONVEY TO DEPARTMENT CONCERN OF QTE HIGH OFFICIALS UNQTE IN GOJ ABOUT INTERNAL EFFECT OF FUTURE CUTS IN JAPAN'S OIL SUPPLY. THZNL OFFICIALS ARE CONCERNED THAT IN CAMPAIGN FOR UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS IN JULY, WHICH HAS ALREADY BEGUN, AN OIL SUPPLY CRISIS AND SPIRALLING OIL PRICES COULD GREATLY ENHANCE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

4. COMMENT: EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT MOST EFFECTIVE MEASURE WHICH COULD BE TAKEN AT THIS TIME BY USG TO ENHANCE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUED COOPERATION OF GOJ

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WOULD BE TO ASSURE JAPAN THAT IT WILL BE KEPT MOST CLOSELY INFORMED ON ME DEVELOPMENTS INCLUDING PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS. GOJ APPEARS TO BE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT IT WILL BE UNABLE TO LEARN OF PROGRESS OF

NEGOTIATIONS DURING TIME THAT THE SECRETARY IS TRAVELING
IN ME. ASSURANCES THAT THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE WILL
BE MOST WELCOME TO GOJ.

4. IN VIEW OF PRESENT JAPANESE OIL SUPPLY SITUATION,
EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT GOJ WILL NOT TAKE ANY PRECIPITATE
ACTION RE ME POLITICAL SITUATION FOR AT LEAST NEXT TWO-
THREE WEEKS. EMBASSY APPRECIATES THAT DURING THIS
PERIOD WASHINGTON AGENCIES WILL BE CONSIDERING BROAD
RANGE OF POLICY OPTIONS TO IMPROVE WORLDWIDE
OIL SUPPLY SITUATION AND/OR ACHIEVE POLITICAL SOLUTION
TO ME CRISIS. IN THIS CONTEXT IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT
MANY JAPANESE ARE CONCERNED THAT OIL MAJORS ON THEIR
OWN INIATIVE OR AS RESULT OF USG PERSUASION/ACTION WILL
DIVERT OIL TO US WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD COME TO JAPAN.
AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT ASSURANCE
SHOULD BE GIVEN TO GOJ THAT THIS IS NOT USG POLICY.
INGERSOLL

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. NEWLIN.

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